

THE  
**MAGAZINE OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE,**  
AND  
**CO-OPERATIVE MISCELLANY.**

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OCTOBER 1st. 1830.

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No. 1.] "LEARNING HAS DECLARED WAR AGAINST IGNORANCE." [Price 2d.

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**AN ENQUIRY INTO THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE WORKING  
CLASSES IN GREAT BRITAIN.**

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Train up thy children, England,  
In the ways of righteousness—and feed them  
With the bread of wholesome doctrine—  
Where hast thou thy mines—but in their industry?—  
Thy bulwarks where—but in their breasts?—thy might,  
But in their arms?  
Shall not their NUMBERS, therefore, be thy WEALTH,  
Thy STRENGTH—thy POWER—thy SAFETY—and thy PRIDE?  
O! grief then—grief and shame.  
If in this flourishing land there should be dwellings,  
Where the new-born babe doth bring unto its parents' soul  
No joy!—where squalid Poverty receives it at the birth,  
And on her withered knees,  
Gives it the scanty bread of discontent!—*Southey.*

Few, if any, of our readers will feel disposed to deny, that the first and most pressing consideration with every man, and especially with every man having a family dependent upon him for support, is, that he have the ability to labour—the opportunities of labouring, that is, employment—and the means of securing the fruit of his labour, either in the shape of money, or in such articles of consumption as he may himself and his family use, or easily exchange for such commodities. If a man be deprived of these, he is reduced to a state of destitution, and must either subsist upon charity, or starve. We need not here stop to remark upon the ruinous consequences, both to a country and to individuals, where the practice is to support able-bodied men by the hand of charity; that is, supporting them in idleness, or at the best, but keeping them at unproductive or unprofitable labour. It is obvious that to do so, is to abstract so much from the national resources, while it engenders the worst possible habits

and dispositions in the receiver of the charity ; and not unfrequently, also, in the giver.

A numerous and a well employed population has always— notwithstanding the ignorance which has generally prevailed relative to the real principles of society and of government— notwithstanding the general prevalence of a most lamentable ignorance upon these vitally important subjects, a numerous and an industrious population has always been held to be, till the present time, the first and greatest desideratum in a country. And, therefore? Not solely, nor chiefly, because it has been seen to be of the highest consideration in the creation of national wealth, but because it has been felt to be essential to the national morals, virtue, and happiness.

Wherever WANT and IDLENESS reign, there are, necessarily, IGNORANCE, PROFLIGACY, VICE, and MISERY, following in their train. But we need not now enlarge upon this. We shall have future occasions for doing so ; and our immediate object here, is merely to justify the solicitude which we feel, to address ourselves first, and primarily, in the MAGAZINE of USEFUL KNOWLEDGE to a consideration of the physical condition, and the profitable occupation of the labouring, and therefore the most valuable and important classes of society.

We would not, however, that it should be supposed, that we place the happiness of man in the power which he may possess of satisfying his animal desires—in merely sensual gratifications. No ! This we believe to be the lowest class of his enjoyments—the grossest species of his happiness. But still IT is one part of it ; and it is, moreover, necessary, to ensure to him those higher classes of enjoyment which result from moral and intellectual principles and pursuits.

No man can believe, for he has the evidence of his senses, and also of his personal experience, to the contrary ; no man can believe, that either idleness or incessant physical labour is congenial or compatible with those habits of mind which must be possessed by him who would rise in the scale of being, and live in those regions of pleasure and delight which are taken possession of by the cultivation of the moral and intellectual parts of our nature. It cannot be. Either the mind of such a man will be so engrossed by the thought of the physical wants to which he is exposed, and the solicitude to discover the means of satisfying them ; or the incessant physical labour to which he is subjected, will so depress or extinguish all the higher faculties of the mind, and finer sensibilities of the soul, that the noblest creature of God's creation will be reduced to the level of the brute, if not beneath it.

These considerations, then, induce us to apply ourselves first and chiefly, to a consideration of the physical condition of our fellow-men, and of the means by which that condition may be elevated and improved.



It is not necessary, we believe, that we should occupy any of our space, for the purpose of convincing our readers, that the condition of the labouring classes in England—for to England we at present confine ourselves—is such as is not to be paralleled at any previously existing period of time, and that it is still gradually, and not very slowly, becoming worse. This is a fact which should be well understood, and which should be impressed upon the minds of all; because if this be properly seen and understood, it cannot fail to lead to the conclusion, that the cause of the evil lies much deeper than is usually supposed.

Our readers may rest assured that we are no friends to a profligate national expenditure, and its necessary consequence—excessive taxation. Many of them have had an opportunity of knowing our opinion, pretty fully, upon this subject; those who have not, must confide in our present declaration. We maintain that the profligate expenditure of a government, through whatever channels it may be directed, and for whatever objects it may be employed, is an evil which is productive of great mischief and misery, and should be resisted by every legal and constitutional—and in some extreme cases, which we need not now specify—in some extreme cases, by extra-legal and constitutional means; that is, by physical force. But, still, we cannot persuade ourselves that the wasteful expenditure of government, and its inevitable result,—heavy taxation, are the primary CAUSES of our present lamentable and alarming condition. No! These are, themselves, some of the CONSEQUENCES of the great evil which is destroying, and has been long destroying, the vital principle of our happiness, and of our very existence, also.

We shall, as we proceed, in future numbers, we hope, make this apparent to even the dullest of our readers; at present we observe, that it would be easy to shew, that with our present resources we are much more able to sustain the burdens imposed upon us, than our ancestors were to sustain those imposed upon them, in the time of Henry VI. when, as we learn from Fortesque, who was at that time Lord High Chancellor, “the people were rich in all the necessaries and conveniences of life; were fed in great abundance, with all sorts of flesh and fish; were clothed throughout in good woollens;” and “had bedding and other furniture in great store.”—When, in fact, “every one, according to his rank, had all things which conduce to make life easy and happy,” The amount of taxation was, at the time to which this statement refers, much heavier than it is now, if the difference between the powers of production at the two periods be taken into the account; as they must be, to estimate correctly the amount of our national expenditure and the resources we have to meet it. In the time of Henry VI. the aggre-

gate productive power of the nation, that is, of mechanism and manual labour combined, was to the population, scarcely as ONE to ONE; whereas, at the present time, the scientific or mechanical power, alone, is to the population as TWELVE or FOURTEEN to ONE! That is, whereas in the time of Henry VI. it required the labour of the whole population to support the whole population, the discoveries of science have placed in our hands the means of producing wealth, in the same proportion of abundance, by one fourteenth part of the labour; or in other words, by the same quantity of labour we can produce fourteen times the amount of wealth which the population at that period could produce! Now, the extraordinary fact is this, that in proportion as we have multiplied the facilities of creating wealth, has the mass of the people been reduced to poverty, although everybody must know, that our national expenditure and taxation have not been increased in any thing like a corresponding degree.

Taxation, then, is not THE CAUSE of the diversified evils under which society is at present suffering. It is itself the effect of another and a more inveterate evil; although it becomes, in its turn, the cause of subordinate evils. The nature of the primary evil, we hope, in our progress, to develope, and to propose an effectual remedy for it.

That we are in a gradually progressing state of deterioration or decline, no person can doubt, who is at all conversant with past and existing facts. The statement which we have above derived from Fortesque shews the situation of the people in his time; and subsequent history demonstrates that though their condition did not for many years become very perceptibly worse, it was nevertheless declining; and in our own times we have reached the point whence our downward progress has been greatly accelerated. We have now the affliction to witness thousands of our most hardy and most industrious people plunged into unheard of, and apparently irretrievable misery, while the prospect of those, who, by severe struggles and almost incessant labour, have maintained their ground, is daily becoming more discouraging and gloomy.

At the present moment, from causes with which every person conversant with commercial affairs is well acquainted, we hear less of the distress, both in the manufacturing and the agricultural districts, than we did during the winter, and much less than we shall hear when that season of the year again visits us in her course. But we hear, and we know, quite enough to satisfy every reasonable man, that whatever may have been the relief brought by the creations of summer, and the various sources of employment and sustenance to which they give birth, there is—there can be—no real and permanent improvement in the situation of the great mass of the productive classes of society.



Now, it is assuredly worthy of enquiry—of most serious and anxious enquiry—What are the CAUSES which PRODUCE these EVILS? Is the growing, and at length unsupportable misery of the bulk of the people, necessarily consequent upon a state of human society, and therefore irremovable? Or does it arise, solely and exclusively, from mismanagement and waste, in the conducting of our affairs? This forms a subject of very serious enquiry. We witness “the growing miseries of our country—once flourishing and happy;—must we abandon every hope of her recovery, or what is almost equally afflicting to the benevolent mind, must we sit down in quietude, and, with the political economists, be contented to let things find their own “evil,” by starving out “the surplus population”?

Would there be any hesitation, do our readers think, in answering these questions, if it were a single family that formed the subject of enquiry? There could be none.—The only point to be ascertained would be, whether the sources and the powers of production were adequate to satisfy their wants? A very plain and simple question this, and one which does not appear to involve any great difficulties in its solution. Let us, then, suppose such a family, say consisting of 50 persons, located upon 50 acres of land, and possessing, not only the means of cultivating the land in the highest degree of which it was capable, but also scientific or mechanical powers adequate to produce, in the greatest abundance, all the articles of apparel furniture, &c.; and, in fact, all that was necessary to transform the rude produce of the earth into all the various articles of human desire and enjoyment. Now, if a family so situated, were to exhibit their fields but half cultivated, their members but half employed, and their scientific powers but partially occupied, and producing in a very large proportion, during the time that it was worked, not articles for use and rational enjoyment, but articles of mere extravagance and of no real value;—if a family so situated, possessing such sources and powers of production, were to exhibit a picture similar to what we have now imagined, would any man listen to their complaints of distress, of destitution, of misery? Would any man recommend to them, as the means of cure, to transport to some other place the unemployed half of their family; to destroy the unemployed part of their machinery; and to convert into unproductive wastes the one half of their formerly smiling and fertile fields?

These questions at once appear to be so absurd, so obviously the result of ignorance or stupidity, that it is inconceivable any man should propose them; and much more inconceivable that he should recommend the adoption of the measures to which they refer. And yet—we blush while we acknowledge the fact—this is exactly the course prescribed by those who are regarded to be the most eminently wise among our political

doctors. Yes; incredible though it may be thought, by some that men of intelligence, of knowledge, and of benevolence, should be so egregiously deceived; so blinded to what appear to others to be the most palpable and obvious facts by their prepossessions for some elaborately constructed theory, it is indubitably true, that the political economists do seriously maintain that we are now in the situation of the family whose case we have supposed, and that there is no remedy for the evils from which we suffer, but that recommended in the questions we have proposed. So that there is a community of persons, the increase in whose means of producing wealth, within even the last forty years, has been so great as almost to exceed credibility, who are to believe, that a deterioration in their condition exhibits nothing of an extraordinary kind, and that the only method of arresting its progress, is either to starve to death, or to transport to other regions, a considerable number of its members!

But we are afraid of becoming tedious, and therefore will not pursue the subject farther at present. Upon future occasions we hope to lay open, more fully, the causes of the anomalies at which we have now glanced, and also the remedies which are applicable to the case. In the mean while, the following apologue may not be without its use.

“A company of Arabs, fainting with thirst, once came to a trifling spring, not sufficient for the supply of their wants. One of them, exhorted them to dig, assuring them that in half an hour they would obtain a superabundance of water. A *Philosopher*, however, had in the course of their journey, persuaded them that the only way by which they could always have plenty of water, was to save in vessels, or accumulate, every drop in their power. Lest any of the precarious spring should be lost, therefore, many of them collected their vessels, in order to fill them slowly from the stream. Others, still burning with thirst, were forced by the more powerful of their companions, to begin the manufacture of more vessels, before their tormenting necessity was appeased. Others, seeing that the supply proceeded so slowly, began to dig; but avarice had taken possession of their hearts; and each began to dig a well for himself. A few of the weakest, seeing that they must inevitably perish, if they remained, fled to seek water in some other place. None of the company who remained, in their rage to save or accumulate water, ventured fully to allay their thirst. Many of the unhappy wretches who were compelled to make vessels, expired before water enough was collected to yield them a few drops. The same fate befel some of those who had begun to dig, each a well for himself; and amongst these was the philosopher, lamenting his error. A few of them, indeed, found water, in time to preserve their existence; but the only use they made of it, next to satisfy their own thirst, was to deal it out scantily to



their dying companions, on condition that they made vessels capable of containing so many gallons for every pint which they received. The few, meantime, who had escaped, soon came to another favourable spot. They immediately UNITED to dig ONE well; and were speedily rewarded with superabundance. Often, as they afterwards passed the little stream which had witnessed the misery and destruction of so many of their friends, they reminded one another, that the best and speediest way to obtain the object of their desires, was to dig together for it,—to CO-OPERATE, wisely and heartily, for the general good."

"Whoso is wise will understand these things"—the evil and the cure!

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CUI BONO?

WHAT is Hope? a smiling rainbow,  
Children follow thro' the wet;  
'Tis not here, still yonder, yonder;  
Never urchin found it yet.

What is Life? a thawing iceboard  
On a sea, with sunny shore;—  
Gay we sail; it melts beneath us;  
We are sunk, and seen no more.

What is Man? a foolish baby,  
Fighting fierce for hollow nuts;  
Demanding all, deserving nothing—  
One small grave is what he gets.

*Fraser's Magazine.*

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PHILOSOPHY OF THE HUMAN CONSTITUTION.

AN APPLICATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE MODERN PHILOSOPHY  
TO THE INQUIRY INTO THE APPROPRIATE DESIGNATION OF WILL, IN  
THE CLASSIFICATION OF OUR MORAL FACULTIES.

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No. 1.

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We should have preferred to postpone for some time, the discussion of such topics as pertain to this department of Metaphysical science; because we are of opinion that the present avocations, as well as the existing state of knowledge of those persons whom we hope to have for the majority of our readers, are scarcely compatible with those researches and habits of severe study which are indispensable in pursuing enquiries of this nature. We have therefore determined to devote a small portion of our space, from the commencement of our labours, to metaphysical speculations; not from choice, but from necessity, or a sense of what our duties impose upon us. A large number of those persons whose attention has been profitably directed to

the means of improving their condition, by the adoption of a system of mutual co-operation, have been led to believe that the recognition of certain "principles of human nature," as they are called, is indispensable to the consummation of their object, inasmuch as upon these alone can be based the great desideratum—united effort and mutual enjoyment. This, it is said, has materially retarded the extension of a species of arrangement, which can alone remove the present evils of society, and ensure the permanent existence of physical comforts, and of moral and intellectual enjoyments. It will be our business, therefore, to examine the foundation on which this part of Mr. Owen's system is built, with a view to convince our readers, that it is fundamentally erroneous and pregnant with mischief. To this gentleman we are indebted for an incalculable amount of good, in the developments which he has made of the true principles of social science, and it is only necessary that his errors in metaphysical and moral science should be seen to be, as they really are altogether separable from them, to ensure their ultimate adoption, and the realization of all the benefits which they hold out in their application. To effect this disassociation, will be the object of the present series of papers. As regards the understanding of Mr. Owen himself, there appears little to encourage the hope that this alliance should ever be broken; but we need not despair of others, even though proof more satisfactory and irrefragable of the erroneousness of his favourite principle should be required, than has yet been furnished. Does not some important ground of exception appear to offer itself to his darling notion, relative to the will, in the account he has given to us of the human faculties? Is there not reason to suspect that there is a necessity for the adoption of some—if not NEW, yet, at least, neglected criteria in philosophical speculation, more appropriately preliminary to an adequate consideration of the nature of these faculties, which may excuse us from regarding Mr. Owen's principle, upon the very threshold of our investigations, as he requires us to do, as being the Alpha and Omega of all knowledge? We believe that there is; and that by this our footsteps may, for a few moments at least, be saved from the trap of a merely verbal assumption, which is to shut us up, as for ever, before we attempt to inquire or reason about it to all the consequences of an entire necessity of assent. The proof of this, must form the subject of some future papers.

HENRIARCHUS.

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#### IMPUTATION OF MADNESS.

"Madness"—A Certain inference,  
The Fool draws from superior sense.  
And would the Fool to Bedlam send  
All those, he cannot Comprehend!

M. R.



## LITERATURE.

LECTURES on an ENTIRE NEW STATE OF SOCIETY: *Comprehending an Analysis of British Society, Relative to the production and distribution of wealth; the formation of character; and government, domestic and foreign.* BY ROBERT OWEN Esq. *Published in numbers at 3d. each. Nos. 1—10—Strange, and Hetherington.*

We cut open the pages of these ten numbers, with the intention of giving some analysis of their contents, and of submitting some remarks on their nature and tendency. But upon running through them, we find that we cannot do justice to either Mr. Owen or ourselves, until his lectures are completed, and we have therefore postponed our intention, till this shall have been the case. In the mean time, we recommend this publication to the perusal of all persons who are desirous to derive, from authentic sources, a knowledge of Mr. Owen's opinions on the vitally important topics upon which he has so long been expatiating. He complains, and often with justice, that his views are greatly misunderstood, and his doctrines egregiously misrepresented. This need continue no longer. He has now put forth, or permitted the publisher of this work to put forth, his own statements and arguments, and in future this will form a text book, and a standard of reference, in all discussions relative to his proceedings. We rejoice at this. It will ensure the firmness of our steps, and save us an infinite quantity of time, which has hitherto been wasted, for the want of such a guide. The work is very legibly and handsomely printed; and the cost extremely low.

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 EPITAPH.

IN TOTTENHAM CHURCH YARD.

Far from his native Greece, the mortal part  
Of CONSTANTINE SOTIRIS here was laid,  
Almost 'ere childhood melted into youth.  
Wild, bold and free, the little Suliote came  
To England's shores a student, and his soul  
All knowledge, save of ill, with eager joy  
Received; but chiefly, with a spirit's thirst,  
He drank the waters of immortal life,  
Meek, holy, calm, the little Suliote died,  
His last breath murmur'd, in his countrys tongue,  
The name of mother 'Twas a Father's death.  
(Sad tidings told him in this foreign land)  
First made him droop—no hand of relative  
Closed his sad eyes; yet left he mourners here,  
True friends, whom his sweet tenderness had made,  
And one of these inscribes this humble stone.

Died April 18th 1827,

Aged about 13.

## VARIETIES.

*Discovery in Etymology.*—The etymologists of future ages, with the page of history before them, may be perplexed to understand whence the British House of Commons derived the title of *Honourable*. Is it, they will inquire, one of those corruptions in which that assembly delighted, or a catachresis, or term representing deficiency, as *lucus a non lucendo*? Persons, it may be observed, who have the power of describing their own distinguishing quality, are sure of adopting such epithets as express their wants, rather than their possessions. Thus, Falstaff calls himself *honest* Jack; Bobadil would dub himself the *brave*; Munchausen the *veracious*. These might be plausible explanations of the parliamentary title of *honourable*, but they would be erroneous, and for the enlightenment of posterity, and to spare future etymologists the pains of hypothesis and disputation, we shall now clear up the question. And we must premise, for the glory of our own sagacity, that we have been guided to a true conclusion, by keeping steadily in view, as the pole-star of inquiry into parliamentary usages, the ruling principle or correction. Thus, then, we explain the seeming paradox: The *honourable* house is a corruption of *onerable*, viciously compounded of *onera*, burthens, and the ability of imposing them, which we all know to be the most eminent ability of the *onerable* house. *Onus* being derived from the Greek for an ass, the house appropriately adopted the description of *onerable*, as at once expressing its habit of loading the people, and suggesting the quality of the patience that submits to it.

*Cost of a King's Amusement.*—A Paris paper states, that the hunting expences of the ex-King of France, including the salaries of the Master of the Hounds, and the huntsmen, grooms, &c., were 695,957 francs per annum. Thus, during the reign of Charles X., which lasted five years, the country paid 3,500,000 francs (140,000*l.*) merely for the pleasure of the chase!

*Justice of the Roman Agrarian laws.*

—The Roman Agrarian laws have frequently been represented as unjust and iniquitous. A moment's consideration of their nature will prove such a supposition to be groundless. It was the practice of Rome, and the Italian states in general, on making a conquest, to take a portion, generally a third, of the enemy's land. This then, became public land, and was occupied for tillage or grazing, by the citizens of the state which had acquired it; they paid a tenth of the produce by way of rent, and the land was subject to resumption by the state. While the Roman citizens consisted of the three patrician tribes, alone, there was no cause for murmur; but when the plebs gradually grew up, and as the infantry of the army was the chief instrument in the acquisition of public land, they naturally claimed to have a share in what was gained. The kings, therefore, were in the habit of assigning small portions of the public land, as property, to the plebeians, and thus the latter grew, by degrees, to be the only or principal land-owners in the state. After the expulsion of the Tarquini, a distribution of the crown lands was made among the plebeians; but the loss of the lands beyond the Tiber, and the heavy weight of taxation which fell almost entirely on them, now that the patricians, having gotten the government into their own hands, no longer paid the tenths off the public land, made the plebeians more clearly discern the injustice with which they were treated, and be clamorous for an Agrarian law, *i. e.* a law which was not, as has been erroneously supposed, to take their property from the rich and give it to the poor, but which would make the patricians give up a portion of the public land, which they occupied without paying any rent or taxes, to be divided in small lots among those whose blood had purchased it.—*Dr. Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia, Vol. IX. ; being Outlines of History.*



## INTELLIGENCE.

We hope, shortly, to complete arrangements for laying before our readers, in successive numbers of our Magazine, not only copious abstracts of an extensive correspondence, carried on personally, and through the medium of the British Association for Promoting Co-operative Knowledge, with intelligent persons in all parts of the kingdom, but also monthly returns of the formation, and proceedings of co-operative societies, in the respective districts of the united kingdom. We are for this purpose preparing a tabular form, which it is our intention to forward to the secretaries of the respective societies, a copy of which we request them to fill up, and return to us for publication, in every alternate number of our work. This will, we hope, be found of the utmost practical benefit to the associations, especially, to all who are manufacturing goods;—and we hope that all of them are so doing, or are pressing onward to effect it. We therefore look with confidence to the co-operation of our brethren, in every part of the country, to enable us to realise our wishes. The benefit will be their own, and not ours, personally; and if they be tardy in contributing their assistance, therefore, they will inflict a loss only upon themselves.

In the mean time, we select the following intelligence, for notwithstanding that some of it has appeared in print elsewhere, we think it worthy a permanent place in our record.

LIVERPOOL.—I herewith send you an account of the business done for Societies in the country by the First Liverpool, purchasing agency, from the commencement:—

	£	s.	d.
Kendal . . . . .	135	0	0
Chester . . . . .	140	0	0
Coventry . . . . .	9	6	0
Burslem . . . . .	30	0	0
Second Bradford . . . . .	25	0	0
Cronford . . . . .	25	0	0
Birmingham and Walsal Societies	53	0	0
First Birmingham . . . . .	57	15	0
Ditto . . . . .	50	0	0
Second ditto . . . . .	1	10	0
Woolton . . . . .	11	4	0
Leciester . . . . .	20	0	0
Holywell . . . . .	41	0	0
Huddersfield . . . . .	24	18	9
First Carlisle . . . . .	61	0	0

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£684 13 9

We have had two or three complaints from our friends in the country; we are obliged for the kind manner in which they state them. We are not so foolish as to expect in all things to please every body; we buy the goods as good in quality and as cheap as we can, and we believe on better terms than they could purchase, if they were to do it themselves. The prices fluctuate daily, and,

therefore, if we send prices to-day, we cannot bind ourselves for the price of to-morrow ; we, however, have no mysteries or secrets in our transactions ; all our books and invoices are open for the inspection of our friends, whenever they may choose to call at our store themselves, or depute a friend or friends to do it ; and whenever they come to Liverpool, and wish to purchase for themselves, we will give them all the information and assistance in our power. We have only one wish in this matter, and that is, to make ourselves as useful to our brethren as possible, and at as little expense as possible, and to give them as much useful information as we can.

At the same time, we would remind them, that in proportion as we are supported, and the greater the sums we have to expend, the better will be the terms of our purchases ; and this advantage will be enjoyed by the small Societies, in as great a degree as the larger, the commission only excepted, as we charge only the money the articles cost us ; we do not keep from them one day's interest, or even the odd pence which are sometimes taken off.

I am the friend of the labourer, **JOHN FINCH**, Treasurer.

**MR. OWEN.**—On Thursday evening, the 16th instant, a public meeting was held at the Sans Souci Theatre, for the purpose of receiving a proposition which Mr. Owen had expressed a wish to lay before the members of the co-operative societies, in the metropolis. The place was so crowded that serious apprehensions were entertained for its safety, but happily no serious accident occurred. Mr. Owen addressed the meeting at great length, on the use and abuse of machinery. In order to render it beneficial to all parties, he proposed that the non-producers should invest the working classes with capital and machinery ; as an equivalent for, this the working classes were to submit to a voluntary servitude, and give to the former nine-tenths of their produce. The absolute certainty that this plan will not be realized, relieves us from the necessity of submitting any observations upon its details, some of which are of a most amusing description. It is a subject of deep regret, that the really valuable parts of Mr. Owen's plans, are either generally misapprehended, in consequence of his putting them forward in connection with theories which have no proper relation to them, or by reason of the impracticable nature of the means by which he generally proposes to carry them into effect.

**AT PERTH**, in Scotland, the co-operative trading associations are doing wonders. A tradesman from that town says, they have no chance whatever, the co-operators carry all before them. A new society was forming when he came away, having 200 members.

**BROMLEY.**—On Friday evening, a public meeting was held at the Seven Stars, at Bromley, for the purpose of forming a co-operative society, for the inhabitants of Bow, Bromley, and their vicinity. The Chair was filled by Mr. Mellish, and the meeting was addressed by Messrs. Hetherington, Lovett, Petrie, and Creasy from the British Association. The formation of the



association was opposed by the village Baker, and by some intelligent persons! who resorted to the convincing method of shooting peas at the windows; but their efforts were fruitless. A Society was formed, and a number of persons entered their names as members.

**BRITISH ASSOCIATION.**—At the meeting of the committee, on Wednesday se'night, the following resolution was adopted:—“That it shall be imperative on this committee to receive as a member thereof, any person who shall be elected for that purpose, by any Co-operative society having five subscribing members to the British Association.” We regard this as a very important measure, and trust and believe that it will tend, greatly, to promote the prosperity and efficiency of this useful association. We hope that the respective societies in the metropolis will promptly act upon the resolution.

**FRANCE.**—Most of our readers will have been previously informed of the greatly excited state of the working classes in Paris, Aix-la-Chapelle, Bourges, Leipsic, Rouen, Lafeuilleide, Cassel, and many other cities and towns on the continent of Europe. In all these cities and towns, the workmen belonging to various trades, have ~~either~~ formed themselves into societies, for the purpose of adopting those measures which they deem to be calculated to ameliorate their condition, and in several of them they have openly resorted to menace and violence. No person at all conversant with the condition of the majority of those people, can feel surprised at these occurrences, though many, and we are ourselves among the number—will lament that they have a very confused idea of the causes which produce that deterioration in their condition, which forms the subject of their complaint, and which they put forward as the justification of their measures. The destruction or disuse of machinery appears in most cases to be their primary, if not their only object, as it is from this alone that they conceive their inconveniences and sufferings to arise. We cannot now stop to point out more particularly the erroneous notion which directs their course of proceeding; it will, in due time, form the subject of consideration in our pages. Our object, at present, is to congratulate such of our readers as have happily a clearer preception of the source whence the evils that pervade society, both on the continent and in our own island, proceed, upon some very interesting and important proceedings which have recently taken place in Paris, on the part of the working people. We copy the following particulars from the tenth number of “Anecdotes of the French Revolution,” now in course of publication:—

“While these pages were passing through the press, we received accounts from Paris which assume an important aspect, with reference to the ultimate peace and prosperity, not only of the French kingdom, but by its influence and example, upon the whole of Europe. What has been stated in the preceeding pages of these anecdotes will have given the reader a high opinion, not only of the heroism but also of the intelligence and virtue of the working classes of society in France. It will also have

been perceived, that those persons, to whom the honour and the consequences of the revolution belongs, were not quite satisfied with the complexion of the new ministry, and with the course of proceedings adopted by it. It will have been obvious, that though they felt that a most important change had been effected in the principle of the government, and that sufficient guarantees had been taken for securing the rights and properties of all classes of citizens, they were at the same time apprehensive that a new oligarchy was seeking to assume the place of the old one, which, if more odious, in consequence of its acts, had taken its rise in a precisely similar manner to the one with which they felt themselves to be now threatened. Such must have been the impression produced by a careful perusal of the preceding pages; but it was by no means manifest, as it now is, that the people of France—the middle and labouring classes—those by whose skill and industry all the wealth of the nation is produced—had a clear perception of the inherently vicious principle upon which the state of society they deprecated was based, and the intelligence, as well as the firmness, necessary to procure its annihilation.

We beg our readers' attention to the following circumstances, and if they create in their minds the same sensations of pleasure as they have done in our own, they will not regret the space which their narration occupies.

A society has been formed in Paris, called *LES AMI DU PEUPLE*. "The Friends of the People," the avowed object of which is to give such a direction to the events of the 27th, 28th, and 29th of July, as shall obtain really popular institutions; and so to improve the moral and physical situation of the people, as to shelter France from any new revolution. By the *PEOPLE*, the Society means *THE WORKING MEN*. The Society declares that it will not acknowledge the right of any other Government than that which has for its origin, and as its basis, *THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE*.

This Society is rapidly increasing, and promises soon to comprehend all who promoted the recent Revolution, from any other motive than the desire of personal aggrandisement, together with another very considerable body of persons who neither desired the Revolution nor approved it, but who are, nevertheless, prepared to urge forward its progress, from a love of principle and consistency. But the Government has resolved to put it down! Will it be credited, that the Government which owes its being to these very persons—the Government whose members were but a few weeks since themselves in the very same situation—revolutionists and friends of the people, but who are now King's ministers and placemen, have arrested the Secretary and President of this Society, and are resolved to bring them to trial? Justice and popular force, however, will be on the side of the people, and of the issue we have no doubt. The people achieved the Revolution under the influence of desires and expectations which no man is so extravagant as to pretend have yet been realised; and the Government which voluntarily accepted an authority thus acquired and transferred, became, by that very act, responsible to the people for the completion of all such objects as the people notoriously had in view. For the Government of France now to say, that any of these objects are absurd or impracticable, would be an insult and a fraud, and expose it to the just indignation of the people, of whose delusion, in this case, it would have been guilty of taking a dishonest and treacherous advantage. We do not think there can be a more just or useful maxim than that which would make those who profit by a popular Revolution, in every case, personally responsi-



ble, that the people who supply the physical force necessary to effect it, shall not be disappointed as to its consequences. The uniform and rigorous application of this principle would operate as an effectual and salutary check to the artifices of designing and ambitious demagogues, and be the means of preventing much national delusion, disappointment, confusion, and calamity. Of the spirit by which this Society is impelled, of the confidence which it feels in the sympathy and support of the nation at large, of its utter contempt for the existing authorities, and of the improbability of the latter being able to oppose to it any effectual resistance, some notion may be formed from the fact, that a requisition has been addressed to the PROCUREUR GENERAL, having the signature of 300 persons, who proclaim participation in the offence of which the President and Secretary of the Society are accused, and loudly call upon that functionary to include them in the prosecution. This boldness is the certain precursor of complete triumph.

But our readers would be very imperfectly informed of the views and objects of this Society, did we not lay before them the following Declaration of Principles, which it was about to issue when the legal authorities broke in upon its proceedings. We intreat that it be read with attention, as it developes, in a manner which has not hitherto been done, by the PEOPLE themselves, the causes and remedies of the evils to which they are now exposed.

"The Society of the Friends of the People, inviolably attached to the principles which it has proclaimed in its fundamental declaration, devoted entirely to the realizing of those principles, and knowing the duties imposed on it by its intercourse with patriots who had confidence in its members, and with whom the members of the society than fought during the memorable events, considers it an imperious and sacred obligation to acquaint all French citizens, and ALL MEN, OF WHATEVER COUNTRY, who, in heart and mind partake the principles of the society, with the gravity of the existing circumstances. The French nation as well as all civilised countries, is engaged to show the anti-national and dangerous course which the actual Government of France follows, and to indicate the true line of political conduct which is to constitute the dignity, glory, and happiness of the nation.

"Till institutions, in accordance with our declaration of principles, be obtained; till the PEOPLE be allowed to EXPRESS THEMSELVES FREELY through their lawful REPRESENTATIVES, it is not astonishing that the wishes and wants of the people are manifested by factions, and it is in order to concentrate all these parts into one body that this society has been formed. Two profound sentiments are in the hearts of all Frenchmen—a desire for the national and individual dignity, and a wish for a more JUST DIVISION OF WEALTH and of THE ENJOYMENTS OF SOCIETY. Dissatisfied wishes produced the present Revolution; as long as those desires are not satisfied, the blood of the nation will have been spilt in vain, and the curses of France will light on the heads of those who prevent her from partaking of all the benefits of her victory.

"Without speaking of the individual conduct of the men who now govern us, we can say that they have CONSTITUTED THEMSELVES the REPRESENTATIVES of an ARISTOCRACY of CITIZENS; that is to say, representatives of the EXCLUSIVE INTERESTS of those in whose hands bad laws have concentrated THE SOCIAL POWER, and whose intention is to establish a new despotism as shameful, as tyrannical, and in fact, as disastrous for the people, as that which has just been overthrown. This aristocracy, to which the BOURBONS were attached, though they despised it, had for a certain time, identified their interests with those of the peo-

ple, wounded as it was by this disagreeable identity. But it is so no longer. The present moment is too favourable to be allowed to pass by without endeavouring to unite all interests. It is natural that the welfare of the people be also that of those who consider themselves as separated from them. Our efforts will be to try to confound the interests of citizens and people—aristocracy and democracy—and we hope that this result is not ideal—that it is the consequence of a SOCIAL STATE founded on PRINCIPLES OF EQUALITY.

“The Society of the friends of the People feels itself obliged to give advice to those who think it is sufficient to distribute *some* PENSIONS to widows and wounded, as a reward for the blood which has been shed; to those who think that the heroism of the people was that of idiots, ready to abandon their children to obtain the useless praises of some political doctors, who advise them to follow the example set them by their egotism and cupidity. But let them well understand that the movement of the people was excited by the firm resolution of the inferior classes to have in their turn the benefit of the productions of civilization, and to arrive at the end, and accelerate the civil system in such a manner that the general welfare might increase, without injuring the actual position of France.”

The manifesto proceeds to point out the existing chamber of deputies, as the great obstacle in the way of real improvements in the condition of the mass of the country, inasmuch as it does not contain the REAL REPRESENTATIVES of the people; and concludes by calling upon all Frenchmen, particularly of the working classes to let all their efforts be directed to obtain the dissolution of an Assembly so anti-national in its nature and in its principle, and powers.

In a second publication the society promises to shew the true political line which it is necessary to follow, to establish for ever the liberty, glory, and happiness of the nation. Never was there, we repeat, so important a document as this, seen to emanate from the councils of the labouring people; it manifests an intimate acquaintance with the principles of social science, and gives us reason to hope that even more important and permanently beneficial results will be the offspring of the French Revolution, than we had previously anticipated. The Government will not be able to succeed in putting the Society down, for it has its basis on the principles of immutable truth and justice; and its declaration cannot fail to make a strong and lasting impression upon a people prepared to embrace the principles and participate in the feelings it proclaims, by the consciousness that the recent victory over bad government was the work of their own hands, and by the conviction that unless those principles and feelings obtain the ascendancy in France, the regeneration for which they have struggled, with apparent success, must prove wholly ideal and illusory.

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#### TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

We have to apologize for the absence of that variety in our first number which we were desirous that it should have. Our friends will ascertain the reason, in the necessity for one or two long articles, by way of introducing us to their acquaintance.

We have not space to enumerate the *poetical*! contributions we have received; but they are all below our standard of excellence. We shall be glad to be relieved from the trouble of reading contributions of this kind.

✍ Advertisements may be inserted on our last page.

W. Hill, 48, Northampton-Street, Clerkenwell.